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'The numerous islands of Ichthyophagi': Neolithic fisheries of Delma Island, Abu Dhabi Emirate (UAE)

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of a study of nearly 55,000 fish bones from the Neolithic settlement of Delma Island, Abu Dhabi Emirate (UAE). The analysis has outlined the predominance of small coastal taxa such as seabreams and needlefish in the bone assemblage, indicating the use of non-selective fishing techniques such as small seines or coastal barrier traps. The installation of baited cage traps in deeper reef areas is also suggested by the importance of large groupers. The exploitation of the open sea is likewise documented by the catch of many kawakawas (a regional tuna species) and large sharks. Pelagic schools were probably exploited with purse seines or drift nets since the first shell hooks only emerge from the mid-fifth millennium BC onwards in the northern UAE. Fishing expeditions in open sea, however, require the use of boats at Delma. As Delma (50 km offshore), in the Arabian Gulf, and Masirah Island (20 km offshore), in the Arabian Sea, were already occupied several thousand years ago, Neolithic seafarers from eastern Arabia were thus already capable of long-distance travel. Boating technology is now directly asserted by the discovery of bitumen-coated fragments at as-Sabiyah H3, Kuwait. At Delma, the discovery of Mesopotamian pottery sherds ('Ubaid wares) and carbonized date stones raises the issue of regular contacts with continental groups. The present archaeo-ichthyological study provides the opportunity to document and discuss the singular features of subsistence strategies in an insular environment during the Neolithic.

Keywords: fishing, Neolithic, eastern Arabia, Arabian Gulf, archaeo-ichthyology

Introduction

During the past thirty years, many zooarchaeological studies have pointed out that Neolithic groups from eastern Arabia are characterized by subsistence economies principally focused on marine resources and small-scale husbandry. Agriculture remained uncertain, however, until the Bronze Age (c.3000 BC). In the words of S. Cleuziou (2005), the Arabian Peninsula has followed 'its own path' within the Neolithic phenomenon in the Middle East. While the significance of marine shellfish is regularly outlined for diet and specialized technologies (personal ornaments and tooling) during the Neolithic, only a few studies have been conducted on fish bone assemblages in comparison to the number of settlements and archaeological shell middens documented at this time. Fish, however, constitutes 60–90% of recovered vertebrate remains. In many respects, very little is known about the diversity of fishing grounds, strategies, and techniques engaged by Neolithic fishermen, although they raise key issues for archaeological studies such as subsistence behaviours and strategies, seasonality, and mobility. This paper presents the results of the complete analysis of the fish bones collected during the course of five seasons (1994–1995, 1998, 2014–2015) of excavations at the Neolithic site of Delma (c.5300–4700 BC, Fig. 2), Abu Dhabi Emirate, United Arab Emirates.



Figure 1. A. A map of the Delma island with the location of the Neolithic site © K. Lidour 2018; **B-C**. Different views of the Delma seashores © M. Beech

Context	Material	Lab code	Radiocarbon age BP	Calibrated radiocarbon date BC (2σ, 95.4% enclosed)
Trench 2, context 1043	ashy sand/charcoal	AA-52544 (GU-10609)	6395 +/- 60	5480-5293 cal. BC (0.968)
Trench 2, context 1027	ashy sand, small bits of charcoal	AA-52545 (GU-10610)	6230 +/- 45	5308-5191 cal. BC (0.541) 5184-5057 cal. BC (0.459)
Trench 2, context 1053	charcoal fragments : humified organic remains	AA-52543 (GU-10608)	6220 +/- 45	5302-5055 cal. BC (1)
Trench 1, context 15	carbonized date stone (Phoenix dactylifera)	AA-32032	6165 +/- 55	5230-4962 cal. BC (0.962)
Trench 2, context 1014	carbonized date stone (Phoenix dactylifera)	AA-32031	5830 +/- 55	4801-4545 cal. BC (0.992)
Trench 1, context 14	charcoal fragments: humified organic remains	AA-52546 (GU-10611)	5830 +/- 45	4790-4577 cal. BC (0.969)

Table 1. Radiocarbon datations from Delma. Calibration for terrestrial material according to Calib Rev 7.0.4 – IntCal13 (Stuiver & Reimer 1993)

Site location and archaeological settings

The site (24°30'38'N; 52°18'37'E) is located on Delma Island (Fig. 1/A), which lies about 50 km off the coastline of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi and 30 km off the northern coastline of Sir Bani Yas Island. The central part of the island is the rocky core of a salt-dome reaching about 100 m above sea level. The shoreline of Delma has changed considerably during the past decades with significant infilling of the southern and eastern coasts of the island. Brackish and fresh sources of water are accessible from many artesian aquifers (King 1998). The coastline slope is gentle and composed of mixed assemblages of rocky colluvium and marine sediments (Fig. 1/B–C). The foreshore is wide and delimited by shallow rocky flats and fringing reefs. Deeper reefs are accessible on the nearshore, especially to the south-east. These environments offer a wide range of habitats for marine life. Stony coral assemblages in the area are mainly composed of *Porites* and *Acropora*. Modern fisheries principally specialize in the catch of groupers (local Arabic: *hāmūr* and *seman*) and grunts (local Arabic: *farsh*) (Environment Agency Abu Dhabi 2015–2016).

The site was discovered during a survey campaign conducted in 1992 by the Abu Dhabi Islands Archaeological Survey (ADIAS) project (King 1998). It is situated on a former children's playground, within the former compound of the Women's Association, in the city centre of Delma town. The Neolithic occupation was first suggested by the occurrence, on the surface, of lithic industries and pottery sherds attributed to Mesopotamian 'Ubaid wares. Systematic sieving of surface collections as well as two test trenches were excavated in 1994–1995 (Flavin & Shepherd 1994). Since 1998 excavations have focused on Trench 1, where a well-preserved circular post-hole structure was found (Beech & Elders 1999; Beech et al. 2016). The archaeological layers continue from the surface up to a depth of 1.70 m, in the deepest part of the sequence.

The successive occupation layers are divided into distinct chronological phases which all belong to the Neolithic period. In both trenches the uppermost part of the stratigraphy is composed of successions of sterile wind-blown sand layers and ashy lenses, which have provided quantities of artefacts and faunal remains (Phase 1–3). The layers from the lower part of the stratigraphy are the most documented, providing structures, fireplaces, and many discarded food remains (Phase 4 and 5). The earliest occupation level (Phase 6) is directly settled on an ancient sandy beach. It is likely that the site was closer to the sea than today. By 6000 BC the

marine transgression during the Neolithic is estimated to have been c.2 m above the actual modern-day sea level (Sanlaville & Dalongeville 2005).

Material culture

Only a few lithic tools were recovered during the excavations — the knapped assemblage includes arrowheads, drills, and knives; available flint sources are located in the north-western part of the island. Ground-stone artefacts include hammerstones and anvils or burnishing tools made from pebbles. Several unspecified perforated stone discs were also found. Their use as fishing sinkers has been suggested but remains uncertain (Beech 2004: 63). Personal ornaments include disc beads made of marine shell and soft stone, and beads made from perforated gastropods such as *Nerita* sp. and *Engina mendicaria*. Tubular beads in dark stone were also found.

Pottery at the site consists of Mesopotamian 'Ubaid wares with some Arabian coarse ware. Of particular significance is the presence of locally manufactured plaster vessels whose geometric painted decoration appears to imitate the patterns on the 'Ubaid pottery. Plasters vessels were recently also found on Marawah Island at MR11 (Beech et al. 2005). 'Ubaid sherds from Delma correspond to 'Ubaid 2 and 3 productions, dated from the last quarter of the sixth to the mid-fifth millennium BC (Méry et al. 2016).

General overview of the subsistence economies

Terrestrial fauna mostly include domestic caprinids (goat, *Capra* sp.), cattle (*Bos* sp.), and wild game such as gazelle (*Gazella* sp.). The occurrence of gazelle at Delma raises the issue of their arrival during the Pleistocene, when the island was linked to continental Arabia, or of their possible later introduction. A study of the marine shellfish from Delma was previously conducted (Beech & Glover 2005: 102–105) (Fig. 3). This outlined the exploitation of close intertidal (*Lunella coronata*) and subtidal rocky flats (*Pinctada imbricata radiata* and *Hexaplex kuesterianus*). Pearl oyster banks, however, only occur in reef areas. Clams such as *Circenita callipyga* are found in intertidal coarse sands. Fishing not only includes shellfish, and bony and cartilaginous fish at Delma, but also marine mammals such as dolphins (Delphinidae) and dugongs (*Dugong dugon*). Sea turtles (Cheloniidae) were also frequently recorded. Only a few remains belong to birds (principally to the Socotra cormorant, *Phalacrocorax nigrogularis*).

Two carbonized date stones (*Phoenix dactylifera*), as well as date-stone impressions, were recovered during the excavations (Beech & Shepherd 2001). It is known that the oldest date-palm cultivation centres appear to be located in southern Mesopotamia, from fifth-millennium BC contexts (Tengberg 2012). However, populations of wild date palm have been recently discovered in Oman (Gros-Balthazard et al. 2017). The occurrence of date stones at Delma thus raises the possibility of wild date palms being harvested in eastern Arabia during the Neolithic before their regional domestication. In fact, the date stones from as-Sabiyah H3 (Carter & Crawford 2010) matched the shape of sampled wild seeds from Oman.

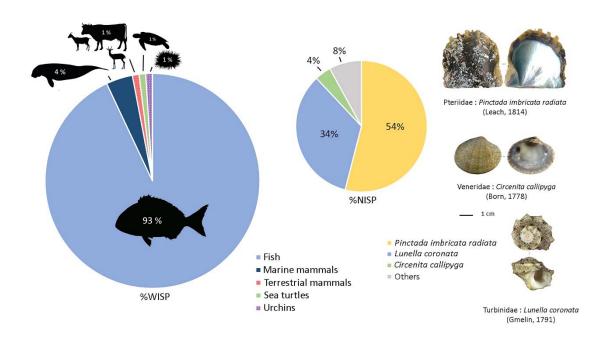


Figure 2. Pie charts summarising the part of different fauna categories in the diet of Delma inhabitants (according to 1994-1995 data and Beech & Glover 2005)

Material and methods

All the excavated sediments were systematically dry-sieved using a 4 mm mesh. Additional fine sieving was also conducted with a smaller mesh (1 mm) and clusters of remains, such as connected vertebrae, were photographed, hand collected, and registered with a special number (i.e. Faunal Number #). At Delma, as at several other eastern Arabian sites (e.g. Beech 2004: 174; Mashkour et al. 2016: 199), the archaeological faunal remains are poorly preserved because of high fragmentation and the presence of salt encrustations which often obliterated the diagnostic parts (see Figs. 6 & 7).

Anatomical and taxonomic identifications were conducted according to the methods of comparative anatomy, using M. Beech's personal comparative osteological collection of Arabian Gulf fishes. The 1993–1994 material was previously studied and published (Beech 2004: 97–109). The 1998 and 2014–2015 material was studied by one of us (K.L.) during a two-month visit to Abu Dhabi in 2017.

NISP stands for the 'number of identified specimens', MNI for 'minimum number of individuals', and WISP for 'weight of identified specimens'. MNI quantifications are calculated according to the combination method: the frequency of bones is combined with laterality and size estimations (Chaplin 1971). However, the NISP is commonly preferred because of the significant bias in MNI calculation. We estimated the relative size and fresh weights of fishes after visual comparisons of archaeological bones with the reference collection.

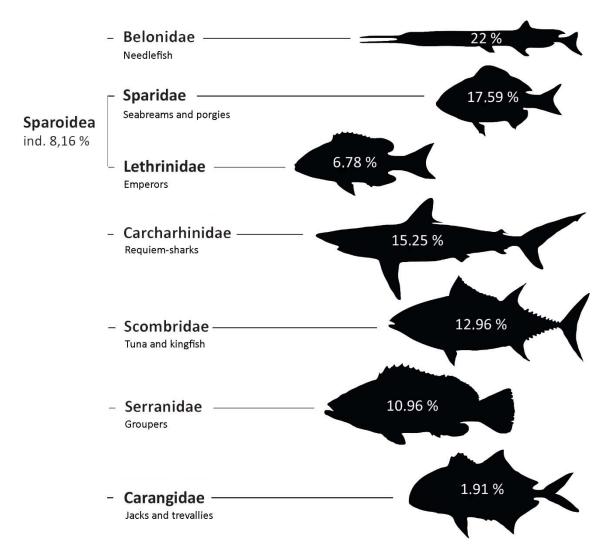
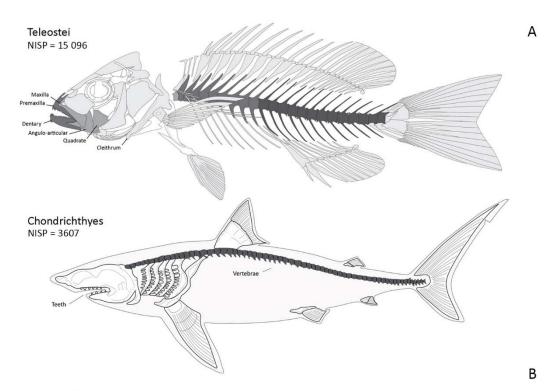


Figure 3. Proportions of the main families identified at Delma. NISP = 17 354; other fish taxa = 4.39 %

Results

A total of 54,846 fish bones fragments were retrieved and recorded of which 17,354 could be identified to the level of family, genus, or species — the superfamily Sparoidea includes Nemipteridae, Lethrinidae, and Sparidae (see Fig. 9). Remains attributed to fishes clearly represent by far the greatest bulk of the vertebrate assemblage. Indeed, the total weight of fish bones nearly reaches 20 kg while the mammalian assemblage only amounts to a few hundred grams. The identifications could be attributed to different periods of the occupation of the site, which all belong to the Neolithic. A total of six families of cartilaginous fishes and twenty families of bony fishes are represented at Delma including requiem-sharks, hammerhead sharks, sand-tiger sharks, sawfish, stingrays, eagle rays, sea catfish, mullets, silversides, needlefish, flatheads, groupers, jacks and trevallies, snappers, grunts, threadfin breams, emperors, seabreams, goatfish, wrasses, parrotfish, rabbitfish, barracudas, tuna and kingfish, pomfrets, and pufferfish (some remains are illustrated in Figs. 6 & 7). This included at

least forty genera and forty-six species. Non-fish remains were also retrieved during this study including sea urchins, cuttlefish, and crabs. Sea urchin remains are represented by numerous spines and shell fragments which all belong to the same taxa: rock-boring urchins (*Echinometra* sp.). It is likely that rock-boring urchins also had an important role in the diet of Delma inhabitants.



	Tele	ostei	Belo	nidae	Rhabdosar	gus haffara	Epineph	elus spp.	Thu	nnini
	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%
Vomers	115						82	5.8%	1	
Basioccipitals	104						45	3.2%	2	
Otoliths	123		6		1		29	2.1%		
Palatines	66						5			
Maxillae	196	1.3%			5		78	5.6%	27	1.2%
Premaxillae	1157	7.7%	213	5.6%	272	48.2%	156	11.1%	2	
Dentaries	1093	7.2%	237	6.2%	279	49.5%	204	14.5%	62	2.8%
Angulo-articulars	241	1.6%	1		2		79	5.6%	2	
Quadrates	267	1.8%	2		4		96	6.8%	14	
Hyomandibulars	64						20	1.4%		
Undet. needlefish beak	190	1.3%	190	5.0%						
Opercles	60						14	1.0%	2	
Cleithra	129						27	1.9%	2	
Ceratohyals	19						6			
Precaudal vertebrae	4794	31.8%	2041	53.5%	1		438	31.2%	548	25.2%
Caudal vertebrae	6214	41.2%	1103	28.9%			79	5.6%	1473	67.6%
Others	264	1.7%	20				46	3.3%	43	2.0%
Total NISP	15096		3813		564		1404		2178	

Figure 4. **A**. Anatomical representation of the fish bones from Delma (bony fish skeleton modified from Coutureau & Béarez 2012) **B**. Distribution of anatomical elements for some of the main taxa identified at Delma

All major anatomical elements were represented among the fish bone remains (Fig. 5), including cranial, vertebral, and appendicular items. As no butchery marks were observed it is likely that fish were directly brought to the settlement and consumed in a relatively complete form. The hardest elements such as those from the mandibular arch (i.e. dentaries, premaxillae, and maxillae) as well as vertebral centra are the most common anatomical elements recorded. Tunas have strong vertebral centra which are frequently found within archaeo-ichthyological assemblages. Their cranial bones are, however, limited because of their weakness. The relative absence of their cranial bones is often misinterpreted as a result of fish beheadings. A few strong cranial elements, such as dentaries and maxillae, were recorded at Delma, however, thanks to the use of fine sieving. Sharks and rays were exclusively represented by vertebrae and dentition pieces such as teeth and tooth plates. Other parts of their skeleton are cartilaginous and generally did not preserve well.

According to the NISP data, the assemblage is mainly dominated by needlefish (Belonidae, 22%), seabreams and porgies (Sparidae, 18%), requiem-sharks (Carcharhinidae, 16%), tuna and kingfish (Scombridae, 13%), groupers (Serranidae, 11%), and emperors (Lethrinidae, 7%). Jacks and trevallies (Carangidae, 2%) are less frequent. Note that undetermined Sparoidea represent 8% of the NISP (Figs. 4 & 9). The whole percentage of Sparoidea thus average 33% of the NISP. Needlefish are almost solely represented by the genus *Tylosurus*. Seabreams are represented by at least three genera and four species of which the Haffara seabream (*Rhabdosargus haffara*) is the most common. Scombrids are represented by at least four genera but kawakawa (*Euthynnus affinis*) is prevalent. Groupers were mostly represented by the genus *Epinephelus*, while a few *Cephalopholis* remains were also recorded. Three distinct species of emperors and at least seven species of jacks or trevallies were recorded.

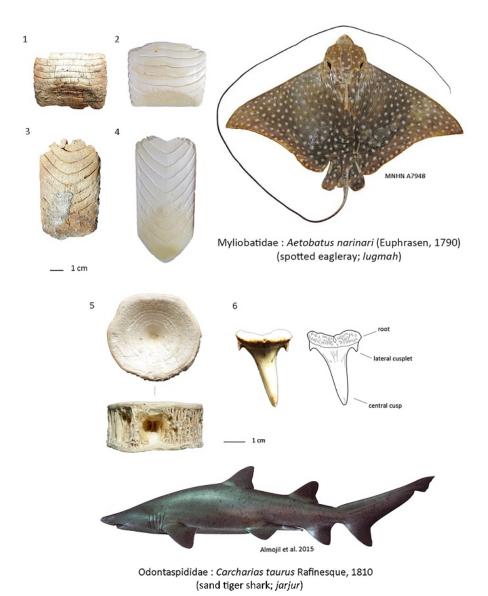


Figure 5. Sample of remains belonging to cartilaginous fish (Chondrichthyes) from Delma compared to analogue bones from the MNHN osteological reference collection, and corresponding live-pictures of the species. 1-2. Upper tooth plates of the spotted eagleray, *Aetobatus narinari*. 2-4. Lower tooth plates of the spotted eagleray, *Aetobatus narinari*. 5. Vertebral centrum of sand-tiger shark, *Carcharias taurus*. 6. Tooth (lingual side) of sand-tiger shark, *Carcharias taurus*

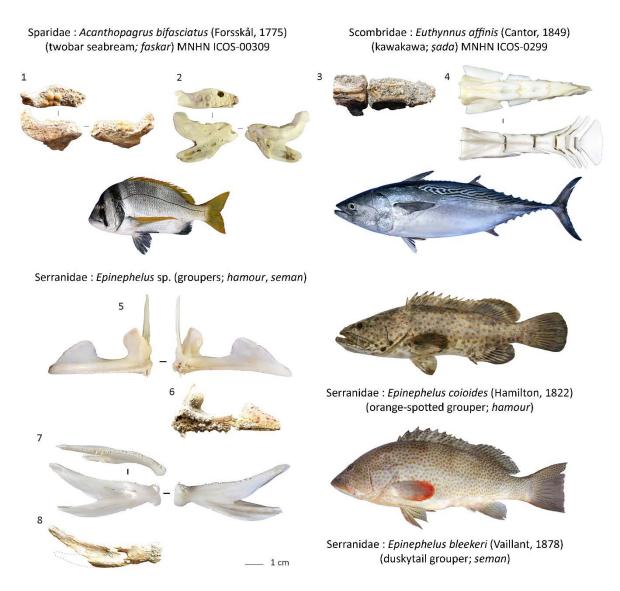


Figure 6. Sample of remains belonging to bony fish (Teleostei) from Delma compared to analogue bones from the MNHN osteological reference collection, and corresponding livepictures of the species. 1-2. Right dentaries of two-bar seabream. 3-4 Series of caudal vertebrae of kawakawa, *Euthynnus affinis*. 5. Right premaxilla of duskytail grouper, *Epinephelus bleekeri*. 6. Right premaxilla of a grouper, *Epinephelus* sp. 7. Right dentary of duskytail grouper, *Epinephelus bleekeri*. 8. Right dentary of a grouper, *Epinephelus* sp.

Discussion

Fishing grounds and techniques

All the fish taxa identified at Delma can be caught in the vicinity of the island. Fishing was essentially carried out in the close shallow waters surrounding the site (Fig. 8/C). Schools of small needlefish (100–200 g) are encountered over sandbars and fringing reefs — they usually

swim just beneath the surface. They can be caught with small seines according to a traditional technique called *idfarah* (Arabic) which is similar to *djarifa* (Shimaore) documented in the Comoro Islands (Claro 1994; Jamon et al. 2010). Most of the seabreams identified at Delma can also potentially be caught this way, in particular small Haffara seabreams (200–300 g) which inhabit mainly soft bottoms and around coral reefs (Sommer, Schneider & Poutier 1996); two-bar seabreams occur more frequently in reef areas (Iwatsuki & Heemstra 2011).

Requiem-sharks are relatively common in these coastal environments. Blacktip reef sharks (*Carcharhinus melanopterus*) are encountered in very shallow waters and are regularly caught by inshore fisheries. They can be easily caught in nets, directly harpooned, or shot by an arrow or spear. Large specimens and some species can also swim in open waters to hunt, like the oceanic whitetip shark (*Carcharhinus longimanus*). Pelagic sharks, as well as dolphins, dugongs, and sea turtles, are frequently bycatch in drift nets.

Some remains were attributed to a large sand-tiger shark (Odontaspididae: *Carcharias taurus*) (Fig. 6/5-6).¹ Sand-tiger sharks generally occur in reef areas. According to Bass, D'Aubrey and Kistnasamy (1975: pl. 3) their estimated length is about 3 m but only females can reach this size (> 220–230 cm) (Gilmore, Dodrill & Linley 1983). The first record of this species in the UAE was only made in 2012 (Jabado et al. 2013), in the vicinity of Delma Island. The present study, however, demonstrates that sand-tiger sharks already occurred in the Delma area and in the Arabian Gulf 7000 years ago. Hammerhead sharks (Sphyrnidae) and large sawfishes (Pristidae: *Pristis zijsron*) are also commonly encountered around moderate-depth reef areas (Moore 2014; Jabado et al. 2017: 269).

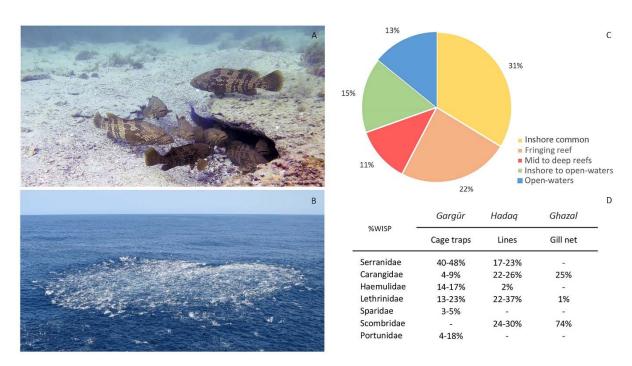


Figure 7. A. A small group of orange-spotted groupers, *Epinephelus coioides* (*hamour*) near a crevice. Courtesy Abu Dhabi Marine Conservation Group. **B**. Example of a tuna bust-up off

¹ According to a comparison work based on Kozuch & Fitzgerald 1989.

the Ivory Coast. Creative Commons BY-NC-ND 4.0 © 2013 Wm Adams. **C**. Pie chart summarizing the different fishing grounds exploited at Delma. **D**. Fish families-associated techniques traditionally used in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi (Environment Agency Abu Dhabi 2015-2016)

The reef areas exploitation is also emphasized by the marked occurrence of large groupers (mostly between 2 and 3 kg) at Delma. Groupers are solitary and territorial fishes which generally live alone or in small groups in caves and crevices found in reefs. They could form large aggregations during the spawning season as observed for the Nassau grouper (Epinephelus striatus) in the western Atlantic (Colin 1992) and the camouflage grouper (Epinephelus polyphekadion) in the Pacific Ocean (Rhodes, Taylor & McIlwain 2011). Groupers are thus very exposed and vulnerable during this period. They always constitute a great part of the modern landings from Delma where they are quasi-exclusively caught in cage traps, called gargūr (pl. garagir) (Fig. 8/A,C). Data from Kuwait Bay indicated that cuttlefish are the best bait used for their catch in cage traps (Chen et al. 2012). Other fishes caught in this way include spangled emperors (Lethrinus nebulosus), king-soldier breams (Argyrops spinifer), grunts (Haemulidae), and rabbitfish (Siganidae). Garagir are traditional dome-shaped traps anciently built with palm leaves and fronds. While not mentioned by classical authors, they might have been in use for a long time. The etymology of gargūr is from the Old Akkadian qiqurru(m) which means 'basket' and which itself comes from Sumerian (Black, George & Postgate 2000: 92). Some terms of the basic material culture have a Semitic, not Arabic, origin within regional dialects of eastern Arabia — in particular the vocabulary linked with farming and fishing. These could have been passed from Sumero-Akkadian, considering the strong contacts with Mesopotamia during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age or, more recently from Aramaic during the Sasanid period (Holes 2015: 12–18), suggesting the antiquity of the gargūr fish trap (2015: 14).

Lines of stones in the intertidal zone are known along the west coast of Delma Island. Previous work on these has interpreted them as the remains of ancient coastal barrier fish traps (Beech 2003), or in the case of Marawah Island, as ancient boat mooring sites (Beech & al-Shaiba 2004: 9). The dating of these features is, however, difficult although they probably belong to the Islamic period. However, simple fish traps were probably among the first techniques used by prehistoric fishermen in the area (Cleuziou & Tosi 2007: 53). Many variants exist such as hadrah, meskar, and sakkar. The commonest one is the hadrah type which consists of lines of semi-permanent intertidal fences vertically fixed and supported by stones projecting out perpendicular to the shoreline. The V shape opened to the coastline forms a funnel that encloses fish at the falling tide. Classical authors, like Diodorus (2003: 22), already attest the presence of tidal traps in eastern Arabia a few decades before our era. The antiquity of coastal barrier traps is also suggested by the etymology. The terms meskar and sakkar are constructed on the same Akkadian triconsonantic stem sekēru(m), which means 'to shut off, block up' (Black, George & Postgate 2000: 320; Holes 2015: 14). Tidal traps are non-selective and able to catch a wide spectrum of fish taxa encountered in the shallow inshore waters, including seabream, needlefish, and small trevallies (Abou-Seedo 1992; al-Baz et al. 2007; al-Baz, alHusaini & Bishop 2013). Cuttlefish and pelagic crabs are also frequently caught this way (McEwan, Bell & Dvornak 2001).

While single individuals can sometimes be caught from the seashore, schools of large scombrids only occur in open waters (Fig. 8/C). Kawakawas, frigate tunas (*Auxis* sp.), and tuna (*Thunnus* sp.) tend to form multi-species schools (Collette & Nauen 1983). They feed on schools of other small pelagic fishes such as sardines (Clupeidae) and silversides (Atherinidae), which are planktivorous and thus mostly swim just beneath the surface (Fischer & Bianchi 1984). Estimated fresh weights of kawakawas from Delma are mostly between 3 and 4 kg. Epi-pelagic schools do not necessarily occur far from the shore and can be found a few hundred metres offshore, but it is necessary to use boats to catch them.

Boating technology is well attested during the Neolithic since bitumen-coated fragments were found at as-Sabiyah H3, Kuwait (Carter & Crawford 2010). Schools of scombrids are easily visible because they break the surface of the sea and attract marine birds (Fig. 8/B). Traditional techniques to fish on epi-pelagic schools are purse seines, drift nets (similar to the local ghazal technique), and luring (e.g. trolling and baiting with attraction food) (Fig. 8/D). As shell fishhooks and miniature sinkers are not attested before the mid-fifth millennium BC within the Neolithic fishing kit in the Arabian Gulf (Méry, Charpentier & Beech 2008; Méry 2015), the use of hook and line techniques could not be assumed at Delma. Net fishing techniques are thus presumed. Several perforated stone discs were discovered during the excavations at Delma but their possible use as net sinkers is still unclear. Similar artefacts were found at as-Sabiyah H3 (Carter & Crawford 2010: fig. 9.14–15) and at Dosariyah, Saudi Arabia (Drechsler 2018: pl. 11.22.d). It can be assumed that other fish taxa could be caught in open waters, such as large jacks (Caranx spp.), trevallies (Carangoides spp., Gnathanodon speciosus), queenfish (Scomberoides commersonnianus), torpedo scads (Megalaspis cordyla), king-soldier breams, and eaglerays (Myliobatidae: Aetobatus narinari, see Fig. 6/1-4) (Stehmann 1981; Last & Steven 1994).

Food habits

About 8% of the fish bones studied were burnt (carbonization or calcination). Fire marks are concentrated on less fleshy parts of the skeleton such as the opercle series, spines, and the external tips of the jaw pieces. This distribution indicates that whole fish were probably grilled on coals.

A few remains were attributed to the stellate puffer (*Arothron stellatus*). Pufferfish are relatively uncommon in the area and mostly occur in patch reefs and outer slopes of reefs (Lieske & Myers 1994) — they can be caught in cage traps. They are identified at several other archaeological sites from the Arabian Gulf (Marawah MR14 and MR16, Balghelam BG12) (Beech 2004: tables 104, 114, 119) including the Neolithic settlement of Umm al-Quwain UAQ2, UAE (Mashkour et al. 2016). It is noteworthy that pufferfish are usually reported as poisonous to eat (Masuda et al. 1984). Tetrodontoxin present in the internal organs leads to muscular paralysis, including of the diaphragm, and can cause death from respiratory failure in a few hours (Clark et al. 1999). These ichthyotoxins are essentially concentrated in the skin and gut (the liver in particular), implying that the flesh can be consumed if correctly prepared. The toxicity rate, however, varies considerably from region to region (Magarlamov, Melnikova

& Chernyshev 2017) and it is not clear if the pufferfish from Delma are poisonous or not. It is likely they are not because pufferfish remains recovered among other fish bones from the Delma site had not received any special treatment.

Seasonality

Seasonality and mobility issues have been widely discussed in the last few years. While the pattern was essentially oriented towards semi-nomadism according to ethnographic works (Scholz 1980; Lancaster & Lancaster 1995), new results have shown that some Neolithic sites could have been inhabited throughout the year, benefitting from highly productive marine environments such as mangroves (Biagi & Nisbet 2006; Cavulli & Scaruffi 2013; Mashkour et al. 2016). In this regard, archaeo-ichthyological investigations have also suggested that fishing was not solely carried out during a limited part of the year (Desse 1988; Driesch & Manhart 2000; Beech 2004: 201–207; Wilkens 2005; Lidour, Vorenger & Béarez 2018) but at least from autumn to late spring (Mashkour et al. 2016: fig. 10). While marine waters are more productive during the winter season because of cooler seawater temperatures (Van Neer & Gautier 1993), fishing continues to be carried out at other times of the year in small fish-rich grounds such as lagoons, mangroves, and reef areas. The majority of fish identified at Delma therefore could have been caught all year round (e.g. seabream, needlefish, sharks, groupers, and emperors). According to modern environmental parameters, schools of scombrids can, however, only be exploited during the winter season in the Arabian Gulf. However, because of significant climate change since the Neolithic, the seasonal patterns of subsistence and mobility should be reconsidered.

Comparisons

The Neolithic fisheries from the Arabian Gulf are essentially characterized by the exploitation of shallow and coastal environments. The main taxa identified belong to small seabream, whose proportion is generally situated between 30 and 90% of the NISP (Desse 1988; Driesch & Manhart 2000; Beech 2004; 2010; Mashkour et al. 2016). Emperors also represent a great part of the spectrum of Umm al-Quwain UAQ2 (c.36%). Sparoid fishes occur abundantly over soft bottoms and seagrass bed areas close to the shore. They can also be encountered in small lagoons and possibly reef areas. Many silverside (Atherinomorus lacunosus) otoliths were recorded from Khor FB and Khor P (Qatar) by J. Desse (1988). These little fish form large schools along sandy shorelines and near reef margins (Ivantsoff & Crowley 1999). Sardines (Clupeidae: cf. Nematalosa nasus) constitute a major group at the al-Markh J19 fisheries: this species also forms schools in coastal areas and could be found very close to the shoreline (Rainboth 1996). All these taxa can be caught with simple and non-selective techniques such as tidal barrier traps (al-Baz, al-Husaini & Bishop 2013), fixed nets, and small seines. Sea catfish (Ariidae), which are numerous at as-Sabiyah (c.7%), were probably caught with baited cage traps such as the traditional qarqūr — according to modern landings data (Chen et al. 2012; Environment Agency Abu Dhabi 2015–2016). High proportions of large trevallies (c.38%) were recently observed at Akab in the Umm al-Quwain lagoon, where singular fishing techniques have possibly been identified (Lidour, Vorenger & Béarez 2018; Lidour et al., in press). Techniques such as firing arrows, spearing, and harpooning are possible but remain uncertain.

Fishing in open sea is suggested by the occurrence of pelagic fishes such as kawakawas, tunas, or kingfishes at several of these sites. Large sharks, jacks, trevallies, and king-soldier breams were also frequently consistent with fishing carried out in deeper waters. However, so far, high proportions of scombrids within Neolithic contexts have only been reported at sites situated in the Sultanate of Oman (e.g. RH5, RH6, RH10, and KM1) (Uerpmann & Uerpmann 2003; Wilkens 2005). The fishing of pelagic fishes along the Ja'alan and the Arabian Sea coasts is facilitated by greater depths close to the shoreline. Recent studies from Akab (Lidour et al., in press), Dosariyah (Uerpmann & Uerpmann 2018) and, now, Delma, have revealed large quantities of kawakawa and tuna remains. Techniques such as net fishing in the open sea and luring could have been utilized. It is certain that fishing expeditions in open sea were frequently carried out during the Neolithic in the Arabian Gulf to exploit scombrid schools — at least hundreds of metres from the settlement sites and involving the use of boats. Delma is actually one of the oldest sites where this kind of fishing has been documented in eastern Arabia and definitively changes our perception of fishing activities in the Arabian Gulf during the Neolithic.

Comparative assemblages are lacking in the vicinity of Delma. The closest sites are situated in Sir Bani Yas Island, c.30 km from Delma and dated to the early Islamic period (Sir Bani Yas SBY2, SBY4, SBY7, and SBY9) (Beech 2004: 109–121). The surrounding environments of Sir Bani Yas are quite similar to those from Delma, with sandy shorelines and extensive reef areas. Deeper waters are, however, far from the coast and thus more difficult to access. The proportion of scombrids is thus very reduced at these sites (only 2% at SBY9) but seabream, emperors, groupers, and requiem-sharks were frequently identified, which seems to indicate the perseverance of certain techniques such as barrier traps and cage traps. Only a few remains were attributed to needlefish. This suggests that unprofitable techniques such as small seine fishing did not continue within more specialized activities oriented towards a market logic as opposed to the subsistence economy of small Neolithic communities.

Conclusion

The inhabitants of Delma were involved in a variety of subsistence economies specialized in the exploitation of marine resources: marine mammals, sea turtles, shellfish, urchins, pelagic crabs, and fish were caught and consumed. The present study has shown that fishing was essentially carried out in shallow coastal environments such as sandbars and fringing reefs, using non-selective techniques such as fixed nets, small seines, and tidal barrier traps. The exploitation of deeper reefs is suggested by the occurrence of large groupers, which were probably caught with baited cage traps. Seafaring expeditions in open sea were regularly conducted in order to exploit the pelagic schools and, additionally, to catch large sharks and dolphins. The main techniques involved were probably purse seine or drift nets since shell fish-hooks were not documented before the mid-fifth millennium in the northern UAE.

As the occupation of offshore islands such as Delma implies a mastery of seafaring technology, the latter could have also fostered open-sea fishing. However, this does not seem to be a specificity of this site in the Arabian Gulf since high quantities of large scombrids were also recently recorded at Akab (c.4300–4000 BC) during the Late Neolithic (Lidour et al., in press) and Dosariyah (c.5000–4800 BC) during the Middle Neolithic (Uerpmann & Uerpmann 2018). Further investigations on fish bone assemblages from other periods are necessary in order to

gain a better understanding of the evolution of fisheries during the prehistory of the southern Arabian Gulf.

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Family	Genus	Species	NISP	Σ	WISP (g)				NISP	Ā	WISP (g)
Carcharhinidae	Carcharhinus	Carcharhinus cf. plumbeus	1	1	0.14	Lutjanidae	Lutjanus	Lutjanus malabaricus	1	1	0.01
		Carcharhinus sp.	331	45	245.5			Lutjanus sp.	9	ю	0.36
	ind.		2311		930.91	Haemulidae	Diagramma	Diagramma pictum	9	S	2.67
Sphyrnidae	Sphyrna	Sphyrna sp.	57	11	17.87		Plectorhinchus	Plectorhinchus schotaf	10	1	2.6
Odontaspididae	Carcharias	Carcharias taurus	S	3	11.601			Plectorhinchus sp.	1	1	0.08
ind. Lamniformes	nes		128	6	142.45		Pomadasys	Pomadasys sp.	2	1	0.39
Pristidae	Pristis	Pristis sp.	95	14	83.27		ind.		10	2	3.23
Dasyatidae	Dasyatis	Dasyatis sp.	2	1	1.25	Nemipteridae	ind.		1	1	0.02
	ind.		1	1	0.2	Lethrinidae	Lethrinus	Lethrinus lentjan	27	22	1.77
Myliobatidae	Aeobatus	Aeobatus narinari	2	1	34.94			Lethrinus microdon	11	00	2.75
	ind.		22	3	10.3			Lethrinus nebulosus	42	27	3.02
ind. Batoidea			41		3.54			Lethrinus sp.	1095	204	131.31
ind. Chondrichthyes	thyes		638	23	110.32	Sparidae	Acanthopagrus	Acanthopagrus arabicus/sheim	35	27	174.8
		Total determinated Chondrichthyes	2996	68	1481.831			Acanthopagrus bifasciatus	6	21	114.94
		Total Chondrichthyes	3634	112	1592.151			Acanthopagrus sp.	212	34	94.33
							Argyrops	Argyrops spinifer	14	S	6.57
Ariidae	Netuma	Netuma bilineata	7	2	10.54			Argyrops sp.	00	9	0.58
		Netuma sp.	16	4	3.17		Rhabdosargus	Rhabdosargus haffara	712	245	252.58
	ind.		12	6	5.88		ind.		2059	87	221.13
Mugilidae	ind.		6	7	1.28	ind. Sparoidea			1417	12	134.71
Atherinidae	Atherinomorus	Atherinomorus lacunosus	1	2	0.01	Mullidae	ind.		9	m	0.11
Belonidae	Tylosurus	Tylosurus crocodilus	304	34	32.11	Labridae	ind.		1	1	0.01
		Tylosurus sp.	1790	32	143.36	Scaridae	Scarus	Scarus ghobban	2	1	2.48
	ind.		1719	41	282.8			Scarus sp.	25	17	8.38
Platycephalidae	Platycephalus	Platycephalus indicus	9	7	1.57	Siganidae	Siganus	Siganus javus	2	1	0.04
	ind.		2	1	0.19			Siganus sp.	91	17	1.68
Serranidae	Cephalopholis	Cephalopholis sp.	m	2	90.0	Sphyraenidae	Sphyraena	Sphyraena jello	1	1	0.36
	Epinephelus	Epinephelus bleekeri	1	1	0.2			Sphyraena sp.	15	11	1.5
		Epinephelus coioides	50	12	18.8	Scombridae	Auxis	Auxis sp.	9	4	2.48
		Epinephelus cf. malabaricus	2	1	9.0		Scomberomorus	Scomberomorus commerson	4	7	1.9
		Epinephelus sp.	1381	194	2274.84		Euthynnus	Euthynnus affinis	2001	75	3697.88
	ind.		492	84	570.12		Thunnus	Thunnus sp.	9	1	3.59
Carangidae	Carangoides	Carangoides sp.	89	30	31.35		ind. Thunnini		216	16	343.67
	Caranx	Caranx sexfasciatus	8	4	8.74		ind.		13	S	12.02
		Caranx sp.	27	9	7.73	Stromateidae	Pampus	Pampus argenteus	7	2	0.1
	Decapterus	Decapterus sp.	00	1	0.5	ind. Perciformes			844		117.04
	Gnathanodon	Gnathanodon speciosus	100	30	32.09	Tetraodontidae	Arothron	Arothron stellatus	19	m	45.8
	Megalaspis	Megalaspis cordyla	m	1	1.2		ind.		4	,	2.25
	Scomberoides	Scomberoides commersonnianus	120	53	110.98	ind. Teleostei			36011		8209.9
	Trachinotus	Trachinotus sp.	2	1	0.1						
	ind.		182	30	143.49			Total determined Teleostei	14375	1436	8953.8
								Grand Total	54864	1548	18872.891

Table 2. Taxonomic list with number of identified specimens (NISP), minimum number of individuals (MNI) and specimen weight (WISP) in grams.

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